

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

VOL. II.—NO. 21.

SALEM, COLUMBIAN COUNTY, OHIO, SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1856.

WHOLE NO. 535.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We select the following extracts from the Discourses at the late anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, as Reported in the Standard:

C. C. Burleigh said: We have no reason to doubt our ultimate triumph even if to-day the sky should look somewhat dark and storm should seem to be menacing. What may be the immediate issue of some of the controversies now going on, such as the question of turning the free States into slave States, or the question of making your highways channels of the internal slave trade, the future must answer; but let these questions be answered as they may, one thing we may confidently say: the response will come.

As the shape of a defeated Slave Power in those particular instances, promising a succession of defeats, or it will come in the shape of some fresh insult and aggression upon the North that will deepen the feeling of hostility to slavery, make more intense the spirit of opposition, and hasten the creation of that public opinion which will adopt the motto we have been so long holding up before the nation's gaze—No Union with Slaveholders.

Certainly it has been demonstrated already with a marvellous degree of clearness that there is no practical Union, no oneness of interest, feeling or principle throughout the different parts of the land. Look into your Congress Halls to-day—how much union is there? See the successive fruitless efforts to organize the House. See the plans and schemes of retaliation, as they are called, which are beginning to manifest themselves at the South—acts proposed in Virginia, Georgia and elsewhere to avenge upon the free States the supposed misdeeds of the fanatics and disturbers of the peace in those States, whereby the security of the tenure of slave property is so seriously endangered.

For my part, I confess I should not look with quite so much regret upon the success of some of those schemes as upon some other movements of the Slave Power. If Georgia, for example, chooses to lay under contribution all the property belonging to the citizens of the free States happening to be within her own borders in order to compensate for the loss of her self-emancipated slaves, let her do it; let her levy upon the property of Northern pro-slavery merchants and manufacturers—for I apprehend they are the principal class of property-holders in the State of Georgia. Let us see what effect it will have upon them—how pleasantly they will bear the burden of the salvation of the Union. If the slaveholders choose to take that mode of allaying the agitation, for my part I say God speed the experiment. I am inclined to think they will have occasion to adopt the line of the poet.

"That lulls it as the north wind lulls the sea."

Whatever way these new schemes of the Slave Power turn, we may calculate upon making profit to the anti-slavery cause. It will only furnish a new illustration of the long familiar proverb, that "whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad."

But our confidence in the ultimate triumph of our cause is not based upon any such measures as these, nor upon any reaction which may result from the too strong pressure of the slaveholding tyranny upon our rights and interests; it is in the power of truth and the eternal principle of justice. We have the almighty arm of the God of Justice to bear us up. Let the politician be for a moment excited to spasmodic resistance, or recoil in apathy more dead from the momentary extraordinary excitement; let the business man for a moment be stung to frenzy and to a disposition to retaliation, or cower down from dread of the loss of his accustomed cent per cent; still we have the right and the truth on our side; deep down in the heart of the mass of the people there exists an appreciation of right which God has so ingrained into the constitution of man that no power has ever yet been adequate to its eradication. To that innate sense we appeal, which will testify in our favor to the most earnest, effectively and perseveringly that we make our appeals to it. It is the prejudice of the hour, the fancied interest of the present—a transient prejudice, an imagined interest—that stands in the way of our progress. To the politician will delude the people with the belief that the success of this or that party is essential to the prosperity of the nation; to-morrow the failure of his promise to be fulfilled works ruin in the minds of the people of the fully of trusting in politicians. To-day we are warned of the danger to the perpetuity of the Union in agitating the delicate question of slavery; to-morrow comes and the nation is neither sunk nor de-stroyed; its business goes on, its industry thrives as before; meanwhile the people begin to suspect that the solemn warning was the language of self-interest, which was willing to sacrifice humanity and the public good for its own ends. Every controversy upon this question or on any question collateral thereto will terminate in the enlargement of the anti-slavery feeling, in the multiplication of the number of converts and in the clear perception by the mass of the people of the truth of anti-slavery principles. Every force which works against our cause is in a greater or less degree, a force which works against the cause of truth.

The force which launches the shot from the gun may seem for a time to overcome the power of resistance; but gravitation works constantly and it is not at any one moment as strong as the countering force, yet, by its constant action, is sure to overcome it at last. When the volcano pours out its molten stream down the mountain side and boils its heated rocks into mid heaven, we have seen that the centre of the earth is about to be forced out into the atmosphere; for the constant, unceasing tendency of all things to harmony will at length bring back the erring masses to their proper position and make sure the triumph of the prevailing law. Ours is the everlasting law, always acting and tending to bring things into har-

mony. As well might we fear that the swelling tide will inundate and overwhelm the continent as that wrong and oppression will swallow up and overwhelm the right, because to-day it seems to threaten such a result. At the very moment when the whitening crest of the wave seems to display a consciousness of triumph, the constantly acting law is beginning to break down the transient impulse and compel the wave to subside to the ocean level.

We fear not, then, for the issue of this controversy. Men ask us to compromise. For the sake of what? Momentary success. They ask us to rush to the ballot-box and elect this man and defeat the other. We rejoice whenever the influence of anti-slavery sentiment has spread so far as to secure the election of men who are opposed to slavery. It is a cheering sign of the times when the candidate for the Speakership in the House of Representatives, supported as an anti-slavery man, can come so near an election, while his opponent, who is regarded as the very embodiment of the slave interest in that body, stands fixed at a point below the necessary level which can afford any hope of success. It would certainly be a triumph if the representative of anti-slavery principles should be elected, in defiance of Southern opposition, to the Speaker's chair. Let men who have not seen how high and stern are our principles elect men of their own faith to offices of State; but let us rather stand faithfully at our post by the central fire, feeding the furnace continually with that fuel which shall generate the caloric without which all our machinery would stop and our political success be alike unprofitable. (Applause.)

Mr. Garrison said:

I am always reminded of the Slave Power as an incentive to effort. A hundred thousand more victims have been added to slavery since you last met; a hundred thousand born into this breathing world at the South to be plundered, outraged and treated like brutes—to grow up in intellectual darkness and moral degradation—to be divested of all conscience, reverence for God and ability to do the will of God—never on earth to know anything of home, or fireside, or paternal privileges, or filial relations—never to be allowed to testify against any white ruffian who may have outraged them—to be the subject of mortgage, deed, bequest, inheritance, traffic as perishable property. Oh, anti-slavery men and women, what motives for exertion are presented to us by this picture!—Talk of zeal and heat! I blush whenever I hear the charge. It is the only charge that makes me feel that we have come short of our duty. How much of our feeling is merely a spasmodic and incidental! A few months ago, the whole city of Boston and Commonwealth of Massachusetts was on fire. The people could not sleep, and we were on the brink of civil war. What was the matter? A single runaway slave was about to be carried off from Boston back into bondage. Only one, an obscure man, in himself presenting nothing especially interesting; unknown, except that he was a poor vagabond slave. Well, one slave ought to throw the whole State into commotion, and the people ought not to sleep where one man is made a mere beast of by others. It was a glorious feeling, but, alas, it was spasmodic, not based upon principle. A hundred thousand Anthony Burnses have been sent and sent into slavery since last your Society met. Does Pennsylvania quake, is Massachusetts agitated in view of this overwhelming fact? No.

Look at Kansas. Our free State men went to Kansas to find homes, firesides and freedom for themselves. But where do they stand at the present time? Covering under the bowie knife of the slaveholding ruffians. Where are the free State men of Kansas who are to show us what the spirit of '76 means? They have succumbed to slavery by allowing it to exist on the soil of Kansas until July, 1857; free colored people are prohibited from entering the State; and Gov. Reeder has been chosen to represent them in Congress, a man in whose veins there runs not a drop of anti-slavery blood. The slaveholders compromise not; they do not yield. Think of what Stringfellow and Atchison have been able to accomplish by setting a backbone in favour of slavery. The free State men talk of resistance, but it is all talk; there is compromise and cowering all the way through.

Look again at Congress. How many times the House of Representatives has balloted for Speaker. How goes the Democratic vote? Always for slavery. They know they cannot make by keeping aloof from the Know-Nothing and Anti-Slavery parties, and yet they never yield. I confess, my admiration of such fidelity and firmness is very great. I would that we ourselves throughout the North could present a similar front.

Anti-slavery zeal is excessive, is it? Why, I am addressing a subjected people. Since I was last with you, you have lost your liberties as a State. The decision of Judge Kane overrides your Constitution. In vain, as a people, have you undertaken to define the rights of man; you have no rights. If Passmore Williamson is out of jail no more, it is not because Judge Kane has changed his edict or altered his construction of law, or has been, in reality, defeated by his purpose. His decision stands like Gibraltar; it is the decision of this nation through him. Your own State has been vanquished; your own Judges have refused to take a stand against him, acknowledging that his decision must be submitted to. That decision is in effect this: that slaveholders have a right to bring their slaves into Pennsylvania as property and hold them here as such.

Anti-slavery zeal and fanaticism! What is the whole amount of contributions to the Anti-Slavery Societies? A few thousand dollars. How much is done to fill up the treasury of this Society (I am not speaking reproachfully)? I suppose if you realize two thousand or twenty-five hundred dollars at your Bazaar, you will be doing well. Only at your Bazaar, you will be doing well. Only at the generous support of the good people on the other side of the Atlantic, all that we have been able to show is about \$5,000—a very paltry sum for such a cause. Does that show an extraordinary degree of fanaticism or zeal? Quite the contrary.

We must not be content with the past, and in our future efforts let us beware how we waste our time in barren generalities. It was once of importance to discuss the duty of immediate emancipation. It is idle now. For seven years we talk about a principle in the abstract, because we had first to settle that before we could apply it. We are not to go over that ground again. Indeed, nobody has ever needed any light on this subject of slavery. God never made a man who did not believe, in his inmost soul, that slaveholding is the greatest crime that can be perpetrated against human nature. I mean no man ever needed light in regard to his own case, and that is the way to settle it; the exact value which a man places upon liberty is the exact value which God shall place upon him in regard to his conduct towards others. It is by the constant affirmation of our principle as right and the faithful application of it to men and institutions that we shall succeed, and only in that manner shall we conquer. Therefore, let us arraign whatever political party, whatever religious sect, whatever distinguished man, whatever powerful institution, are found compromising the rights of those in bondage; so shall we keep alive the sacred fire until we shall have abolished the whole North. In that hour in vain will the South endeavor to maintain her slave system. She lives as a slave country only because she is allowed to be with us; the moment the North shall make the true issue with the South, it will not be in the power of the South to maintain the system for an hour, and the great jubilee shall have come (applause).

Mr. Garrison gave the following reasons for going out of the Union:

Because the institutions of the North are utterly antagonistic to those of the South.

Because all of the violence and heart-burning which mark our land are found wherever the line runs along the Southern States: we find no conflict between Maine and Iowa.

Because slavery lives only by Northern industry and labour—it is a great robber—it cannot get enough out of the soil to pay even the letter postage of the South.

Because, the Union dissolved, the South would be obliged to free her slaves, and then Virginia and Ohio would be on the same footing, and the same in all things.

Because Almighty God has made it impossible for freedom and slavery to be united.

Because, while the slaveholders have a territory that they can call their own, we are denied our right to a land that belongs to us, unless we wear a palldown on our lips. The Southern man can come here and defend slavery, but the Northern man who attempts to speak of freedom will find only the Union which brings a rope about his neck. Such a Union is a despotism! And he referred to the fact that the Bible Society has refused to receive a donation of \$5,000 to print Bibles for the South; and also that the Tract Society dared not distribute tracts in the Southern States.

Because we have not equal rights under this Union. In elucidating this position, Mr. Garrison cited numerous instances of cruelty which had been practiced towards Northern men whose business called them South.

Because there was no freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of thought or action out of the North—nothing but slavery, dark on every side.

Because the Bible is not allowed a free circulation. Now, you are a Christian people. Souls you believe are going to hell in a foreign country, and you send them Bibles. Will you refuse those in darkness on your own soil?

Because, while we remain, we are subject to insult and degradation, and our own manhood should demand a dissolution.

Because the infamy and guilt of the Government are made national under one Constitution, one flag and one Union.

Because the South declares inexorably what the conditions of the Union shall be.

Because compliance with those conditions is sin and shame.

Henry Greer denounced the institution of slavery as utterly opposed to the inalienable rights of humanity. He had no honeyed words for slavery; but in attempting the abolition of slavery, we must understand the subject. He thought that although he was even more opposed to slavery than Mr. Garrison, according to that gentleman's statement, yet sometimes the cause was injured by our not making proper discrimination in regard to our opponents. A portion of the Christian Church thought that slavery, although an evil, should be tolerated on the ground of expediency. Now, although the speaker thought these people wrong, yet he thought we should not treat them as if they were our worst enemies. Paul once thought he was doing God's service in persecuting the saints; but he signed through ignorance.

Our object being to convince every one of the evils of slavery, we can best accomplish the object by argument, and not by denunciation. We should be careful not to excite the prejudice of members of Churches, by talking as if we were opposed to the preaching of the Gospel—which is an anti-slavery Gospel, we all allow. The speaker then referred to the recent Thanksgiving Sermon of Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, which was the main topic of the evening session of yesterday. He criticized the sermon mildly, and then referred to some remarks of Mr. Foss, in the previous session of the Convention. The speaker thought that Mr. F. should not have spoken so slightly as he had done of the preaching of the Gospel, and of Divine things generally. His remarks were directed personally (thought the chairman) at Mr. Foss, who took the stand immediately on the conclusion of Mr. Greer's remarks.

Mr. Foss said, in regard to his sentiments in reference to preaching the Gospel, he thought that what he had said was perfectly right. He was glad that he had got out of that horrible pit of miry clay—sectarian preaching. But he thought that he preached a little of the Gospel yesterday, and he meant to preach a little more to-day. What he meant by saying he had got bravely over being a divine was that he was no longer a sectarian priest—an iron-sided, hard-shell Baptist, one set apart to that particular office and nothing else.

And brother Greer, he thought would appreciate such a deliverance as this, for he objected emphatically to the prefix of Reverend to his name.

Mr. Greer—Because it is a title applied to the Almighty alone; I am a minister of the Gospel.

Mr. Foss—Does brother Greer claim any title or authority to preach that is not conferred upon every other man that has the capacity?

Mr. Greer—No; every Christian should be a preacher of the Gospel.

Mr. Foss—Then you and I will have no controversy. Now, brother Greer says that Paul sinned ignorantly, and that the slaveholders are like him. But there is a difference. Paul thought that the Christians he persecuted were criminals; but there is not a slaveholder alive that does not know what a crime it is to hold a slave. If Paul had undertaken to put those Christians in jail and to death because they did not happen to have just such a coloured skin as he, he could not have acted ignorantly. But he believed the Christians that he persecuted were criminals and had committed overt acts. No man ever did or ever can believe that slavery is right for himself. Suppose it were possible for me to make Dr. Lord believe that I had it in my power to make him a slave, henceforth to exercise no right of his own, but at my will; do you think, that with all his learning, he would find a passage in Leviticus or Paul's epistles that would authorize the act? I ask brother Greer if the man lives who, under such circumstances, would believe slavery right?

Mr. Greer—No.

Mr. Foss—Then it is not the sin of ignorance and I cannot bemoan one particle of denunciation. Now, it seems to me it is owing to a wrong state of moral perception when any one attempts to apologize for those who palliate slavery. We do not in regard to any other crime.

Mr. Garrison—It is because the sin is respectable.

Mr. Foss—Well, I want to make it disgraceful. Brother Greer, it seems to me is not taking the right course to make slavery respectable. It would be better to let the truth come down red-hot upon the hearts of those poor sinners and hold it on fire and let it scorch (laughter). I know they will feel the pain and writhe, but it is the only way to make them leave off sinning. I attribute nothing wrong to brother Greer, unless it is an excess of goodness (laughter); and I think it is always best to have just the right measure of everything.

I have nothing to retract; the readers of the newspapers will understand me when I say I have got bravely over being a divine as meaning such a divine as Dr. Lord and Mr. Wadsworth—as getting over being a preacher of that religion which has divorced itself from humanity. Instead of taking that title any more, I mean to try to live like that my life shall be divine (applause).

Mr. Greer reiterated his views, saying that the man who commits murder when intoxicated was not as criminal as when sober. He appealed to the audience if he was not correct.

Thomas Whiston then took the platform, and related an anecdote of a neighbor of his and his minister. His neighbor told him that he met the minister one day who was very much concerned for the salvation of his soul, and accosted him thus: "Christopher, some time ago I urged you to come to my church, but since then I have never seen you there; I am very sorry." The man replied—"I am a foreigner; when I came to this country, I was told it was a land of liberty, where I could have a voice in the Government. Well, I was anxious to be a party in such a Government, and so I went and took a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the country. But when I came to examine that Constitution, I found that it was a piratical Constitution and a piratical Government. Now, I am afraid to go to hear a Christian sermon, lest I should be tempted to break that oath; therefore I don't go to church."

Now, I think if the man had examined a little further into the Christian gospel of this country, as he did into the Constitution he would have found it no better than the constitution. You have all read the story of the man who traveled from Jericho to Jerusalem, and fell among thieves and was robbed and left naked and half dead; and the priest, passing by in a good deal of a hurry (having to go and preach a sermon, or attend a baptism, or some other important duty), passed by; and the Levite, too, having some urgent business, could not stop; but the good Samaritan came along and found time to attend to him. Some who read this story may conclude that it is the doctrine preached in our churches, and, perhaps, my neighbor, having the same impression, feared that it would be an inducement for him to break his oath. But this is an error. The robbers of this country have improved in the business. Instead of stripping their victim and leaving him half dead, they have managed that he shall be kept alive, so that they can make more out of him, and they have continued to rob him as fast as he has acquired anything. Now suppose some of these robbers at the South had got hold of a man and robbed him not only of his property, but his intellect and morals. The man passing from Washington to New York is discovered near this city, in this wretched condition. The priest and the Levite are too busy to attend to his case. But there is one person who can neglect his business long enough to go and deliver him from the hands of the robbers, and he is successful. The robbers then go to Pontius Pilate and enter a complaint against the good Samaritan. Pilate has got worse than he used to be, and instead of finding no fault with him, and trying to release him, knowing that the people are not clamorous for his condemnation, but are rather anxious to let him go, and fearing that if he trusts the case to them instead of crucifying him they will rather let him go; he raises the cry himself of "crucify him," and assumes to judge the case himself. The man is condemned, and the judge, unlike Judas, who repented of his deed, at once, and takes three months, and then only repents half way. Now, one would suppose that if this man was to go to a Christian church in this place, he would get rebuked for his treatment of the Samaritan. Not so. Sermons are preached against him for slaying his brother, but not against the Kanes of our own time. Still it would be perfectly safe for my neighbor to attend church; he would

be in no danger of being tempted to break his oath to the Constitution (applause).

Lucetta Mott rose to say a few words in regard to the denunciations heaped upon Mr. Wadsworth. It seemed to her that he was too much singled out from the many in this city who were preaching similar doctrines. Some of us had heard little else all our lives, even in our Quaker churches, in regard to slavery, than that the Lord, in his own goodness, was going to abolish it and good works and humanity towards the slave were not Christianity or religion. Mr. Wadsworth was not a sinner above all men; nearly all our preachers must come under just such anathemas as were heaped upon poor Wadsworth by friend Foss.

Mrs. M. regretted that during all the whole excitement in reference to the imprisonment of Williamson, though there were efforts made in the churches to arouse them to a sense of the wrong and to take some action upon the subject, it was in vain. Seven meetings for "sufferings," as they are called, were held in the course of two weeks, and, though efforts were made by some twenty or thirty to do something, nothing was done. She spoke of this because, though Williamson was not himself identified with the Orthodox Quaker Society (probably for having married a Hicksite), his father was. She regretted the apathy which existed and hoped this subject would be put more prominently before this Convention (applause).

Wm. Lloyd Garrison next rose and directed his remarks to the admonitions which have been given us to discriminate among pro-slavery people and apologists for slavery. Slavery, he said, had made itself respectable, and those who own slaves or who apologize for slavery are generally highly respectable men. We do not apologize for criminals in general, although criminals in general need a large share of our sympathies; but Christ, whose name is on the lips of all who attend the churches, uttered his fiercest denunciations against the respectable sinners of the time—"the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." We all agree that no man in the northern States ought to own a slave here, yet we alter our sentiments when we speak of the Southern States.

Rev. Henry B. Taylor came forward and took exception to the remarks of Mr. Garrison, that a slaveholder could not be a Christian. He thought there might be a few—a precious few. He thought the charges too sweeping in regard to pro-slavery ministers and Christians, and he instanced Dr. Lord, of Buffalo, New York, who had always given very good evidence of having been regenerated. He (Mr. T.) was an Orthodox Congregationalist; he did not believe the Bible sanctioned slavery at all. He had always been an anti-slavery man and believed slavery to be the sum of all villainies. He had done what he could, for years past, in Evans, N. Y., where he resided, to help fugitives to Canada.

Oliver Johnson said that the last speaker had made a bad selection of a specimen of a Christian pro-slavery man, when he referred to the Rev. Mr. Lord as such. He had been foremost among the body to which he belonged to endorse the Fugitive Slave law by baptizing it in the name of Christ. If we accepted him, certainly we must make up our minds to take in the whole body of the clergy of the United States.

Rev. Chanany Webster, of Philadelphia, said that if we recognized the principle that God alone searches the heart, we would not presume to judge who are Christians and who are not; it was the prerogative of the Almighty. But we have an infallible rule in regard to slavery; and if a man falls not according to that rule, we should have no fellowship with him. We know that slavery is the very essence of diabolism; and if a man is found defending it, it is nothing to us what may be his standing in the sight of God—we must have no fellowship with him, but must denounce him, in the words of Divine authority, as an enemy of God and man.

Mr. W. stated that there were something like one hundred congregations of Reformed Presbyterians in the United States (called by some Covenanters) that never fellowshiped the slaveholder. Then there were some two hundred congregations of Seceders, who, though they once had slavery among them, in 1830 declared that no slaveholders should be entitled to membership in their churches. Besides these, there were some two or three hundred congregations of Associate Reformed Presbyterians that took high ground in regard to slavery, making in all some five or six hundred congregations. There were some among them who had labored to convince them of the duty to separate entirely from all connection with the Government.

C. C. Burleigh said, we declare, if the decision of Judge Kane is law, that there is an end of our rights and we are the subject of absolute despotism. What then remains? The last proposition in the resolution is, that herein we behold the character of the American Union and the impossibility of maintaining liberty for ourselves while we continue in this connection. The anti-slavery and pro-slavery machinery of this Government cannot work together. If you permit the anti-slavery machinery to work, slavery will not submit; if you balance the two, you check the wheels of government; in order, therefore, that the Government shall go forward, it must be administered either by one party or the other. Whichever preponderates will bring it over to itself. At present the wheels are blocked and will be until there is such a coalition of certain factions as to secure the ascendancy to one or the other party. They say extremes sometimes meet. Those who denounce the non-government are themselves trying the experiment of carrying on the Government. I repeat that one or the other of these influences must prevail, and whichever prevails drives the other to the wall. Hence you cannot have a union with slaveholders but upon condition of the surrender of your liberties. If you would keep your influence, you must destroy slavery. Our principles have been arrayed before the people of this country for the last twenty years, until he must be fully blind who does not see them. Judge ye if there be any other liberty-defending course—any other manly, well principled course than this. No union with slaveholders (applause).

REMARKS OF MR. GIDDINGS IN CONGRESS, DEC. 19.

I could not repress a feeling of exultation when Joshua R. Giddings at length took the floor, and walked out in front of the Speaker's desk to address the House. The oldest Member in service, he probably is so in years also, and the true successor of the "old man eloquent" who, after so long battling for Universal Freedom in the Capitol, at length hallowed it by falling in senile at his post and dying within its walls.

Mr. Giddings commenced by rebuking the sectionalism from day to day displayed on that floor by those who were forever vaunting their Nationality. Propositions to let the North select a Speaker from the South, or the South from the North, to let the North select one and the South another, to rule jointly or alternately—and all manner of projects based on the narrowest sectional notions—on the assumption of a necessary and inevitable antagonism between different portions of this Confederacy—were made from day to day without rebuke. For one, said Mr. G. I repeat these distinctions altogether. They were unknown to our Revolutionary Fathers—they are strangers to the Constitution. I know no North, no South—I would as soon vote for a Southern as a Northern man, provided he be faithful to the fundamental principles of American Liberty. Those principles are proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; they declare all men endowed—not by Congress—not by the Constitution—but by their Creator—with certain inalienable rights—among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is the Republican platform—it was laid down by Jefferson and sanctioned by all the great men of our Revolution—it is the doctrine embodied by Jefferson in the first Ordinance excluding Slavery from the Territories—it has been repeatedly reaffirmed by Congress—it is a national platform broad enough for all who love Liberty to stand on, and not subject to misapprehension or decay. He who stands on this platform may be called "American," or "Know-Nothing," or "Republican"—I ask not and care not so long as he advocates the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to the Territories of the United States. Over the institutions of sovereign States, Congress has no power; but the Territories are under Federal jurisdiction and control, and it is the duty of Congress to secure to all their inhabitants the blessings of Liberty. This is the principle, deduced in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which this Congress is required to reestablish and uphold by restoring to Kansas and Nebraska the guarantees of Freedom.

Mr. Giddings proceeded to show what Slavery is, by quoting the opinions of a Southern Judge on the trial of a master for shooting a female slave; He had given her an order which she refused to obey, and started to run, when the master snatched up his rifle and shot her dead as she ran. The Judge held this execrable, because Slavery required absolute submission from the servant and conferring absolute authority on the master. It is a system, said the Judge, which requires that the slave should be kept in ignorance, should work without wages, should live for the master's profit and do the masters bidding without question or remonstrance. And this, said Mr. G., is the system which has just been imposed on Kansas by invading borders, under cover of your Nebraska act. (Several Southern Members interrupted Mr. G. contradicting his assertion that a slave resisting his master might legally be killed by the latter—yet the Southern law-books are full of evidence that such is the fact.) If it is not so, said Mr. G., I say to the slaves, take your liberty and defend it!

In conclusion, Mr. Giddings urged the House to meet this great issue frankly and fairly. Be on one side or the other of it. If the House is not Anti-Slavery, he did not want a Speaker of that faith elected. If it is, he did want one, and that speedily. The Country had pronounced its verdict on this subject, it would reiterate it in the approaching Presidential Election. Let the House meet the issue with equal frankness and decision.

Humphrey Marshall closed the debate on the part of the Southern Know-Nothings. He proclaimed that he recognized no man as of the American party who did not subscribe to the "twelfth section" of the Philadelphia platform—that requiring "acquiescence" in existing laws with respect to Slavery. He did not care whether a man was in favor of the Kansas Nebraska bill when it passed, or opposed it now; for his own part, there were provisions in that bill which he never could approve—that extending the Right of Suffrage to Aliens, for one. That was contrary to American principles, and he protested against it. As to the Slavery question, he was not clear as to what the principles of that bill really were. He therefore addressed a question to Mr. Glancy Jones (who had been questioning and speaking pretty freely through the day) as to the scope and effect of that bill. After asking one or two preliminary questions, relating to the locus of the matter, which Mr. Jones answered quite glibly, he came at length to the kernel of the matter—"Do you, Mr. Jones, understand the Kansas Nebraska bill to secure to every slaveholder a right to migrate to Kansas with his slaves, and there to hold them as slaves until the People, in forming a State Constitution, shall otherwise decree?—or, do you hold that the first or any subsequent Territorial Legislature may exclude Slavery from such Territory?" I did not understand Mr. Jones to meet this question: what I did understand him to say was that Congress had made over to the Territory whatever power it had, be the same more or less, over the subject of Slavery within its borders. But I will watch the official Reports, and copy therefrom the exact ground on which Mr. Jones plants himself. This, however, I am sure of already: the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, or the right of a Territory to exclude Slavery from its soil, is universally repudiated at the South.

Mr. Giddings denied that he had used such a remark as was attributed to him by Mr. McMillan, viz: that the Government would eventually go in to the hands of the North, and that the Abolition party would then their candidate for the Presidency, and that the Union must and ought to be

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

SALEM, OHIO, JANUARY 5, 1856.

AGENTS OF THE SOCIETY.—Dr. Abraham Brooke and C. S. S. Griffing, will continue to prosecute their labors as agents of the Western A. S. Society. They go out to speak the truth of anti-slavery by means of public lectures by the distribution of tracts the collection of funds, and the circulation of Anti-Slavery papers. Especially are they desirous of increasing the circulation of the Bugle. We commend them to the hospitality and co-operation of the friends of freedom wherever they may go. The efficiency and usefulness of their labors will be greatly affected in every locality, by the encouragement and aid they receive from abolitionists. If these are indifferent or inactive the agent can do little or nothing, whatever his powers of persuasion or argument; but with their hearty support and zealous co-operation, much may be done for the regeneration of public sentiment.

THE KANE PETITIONS.—We learn from various sources that the petitions for the impeachment of Judge Kane have been to a considerable extent, circulated through the country. A number of them after being filled up with signatures have been returned to us. We are willing to forward them if our friends desire it; but we think it would be better that they should be sent by some one of the signers to the Representative of the District in which the petitioners reside, send it with a note briefly expressing your wishes in regard to it. It will be sent free of postage. Send on the petition as it has been circulated, no matter if it is soiled and worn. Don't copy the names to make it look clean and neat.

THE UNION—LET IT SLIDE.

Mr. Giddings speech, which we publish on our outside, provoked some feeling among the slaveholders, and Mr. McMullen of Virginia undertook to enact a little tragedy on the occasion but as it seems it turned out a laughable farce.

Says the Era:

"The speech of Mr. Giddings in the early part of last week is to appear in full. It was rather exciting to some of the slaveholding members, but was listened to with profound attention. It brought out Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, in a series of hypothetical attacks on the Union. It is characteristic of the class to which he belongs, that whenever they hear of a tremendous volley, they let fly at the Union. The discreet and sedate men rarely venture upon these desperate onslaughts, but Mr. McMullen is an excitable man, and cannot always hold himself in.

"Sir, let me tell that member and this House and the country, that should this country ever arrive at that unfortunate state of affairs that the Government should pass into the hands of the North—of such a northern man as that fanatical character over the way, (laughter,) and that that Government should restore the Missouri Compromise or repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, then in such a case I would have to endorse the declaration of the honorable gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Campbell,) that is to say, that this Union must and will be dissolved, (cries of "Oh, no!") the declaration of the gray-headed man over the way, (Mr. Giddings,) notwithstanding."

"Mr. McMullen, finding by the "Oh, no," that some rather doubted on this point, proceeded to satisfy them that there could be no mistake about it. "I tell you, sir, and I want the country to know it—I want the gentlemen from the free States, our Abolitionists, or whatever else you may be, to know it—that if you restore the Missouri Compromise, or repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, this Union will be dissolved." (Laughter, and cries of "Oh, no, oh, no.")

"The uproarious merriment of the House evidently vexed the orator, and he rebuked them, saying, 'Gentlemen, laughing is no part of our duty. If laughing were arguments, the subject would be well argued here to-day; but this is no laughing subject.'

"Whereat, the incorrigibles only laughed the more; and the House for the time was fairly carried away, when he closed his grand display by the following heroic outburst:

"The Capitol now belongs to no section. It belongs alike to North, South, East, and West. But, sir, it was erected upon slave territory, and if the hand of disunion shall ever sever the States of this Republic, you shall never take possession of it while I occupy my seat as a Representative upon this floor. And more, I tell them that when the North and the South sever the connection which now binds them together, the North will never take possession of this Capitol, unless they pass over my dead body. (Laughter.)

"After this, the country may sleep in peace. Speaker or no Speaker, the country is safe."

On the 24th, Steward, one of the slaveocracy of Maryland undertook to raise some indignation against Mr. Banks, by charging that he had recently said, "Let the Union slide!" Mr. Banks explained. He was for the Union as it is, and would fight against its enemies here and elsewhere. The Union as it might be, he should be willing to let slide. Smith of Virginia was not satisfied with Mr. Banks' permission to the Union to slide in any contingency. Grow of Pennsylvania retorted that slaveholders were continually threatening disunion without qualification.

Mr. Boyce asked Mr. Banks, among other questions, "Are you in favor of recognizing Hayti, and receiving a black minister? Do you favor the abolition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia?"

Mr. Banks, following the example of Richardson declined answering these questions as he was a candidate. One of the slaveholders then took occasion to say he was in favor of letting the Union slide. But those immaculate patriots, the Richardson Democrats, showed no holy horror for this declaration as when it came from a man of Massachusetts.

When Massachusetts resolves to "let the Union slide" rather than support slavery, as it does, then will slaveholders pale with fear and wrath, knowing that the rule of their cherished system has ended. Therefore, we say, Let the Union slide—The Union as it is.

CONGRESS.

No Speaker yet in the House of Representatives. The friends of the Republics in insisting that the organization of the House shall not at once throw that whole body into the hands of the slaveholders, as has been the custom heretofore, is a cause of true congratulation to the friends of liberty. We are happy to give our readers from week to week good news as this really is. It looks to the country as though the mass of Republican Congressmen were really in earnest; as though they believed and felt that the great issue was between freedom and slavery; as though they

For the Anti-Slavery Bugle.
FROM IOWA.

To the Editor of the Bugle.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Dec. 13, 1855.

DEAR SIR: * * * I would that the Bugle was read by every family in Cedar Rapids. Cedar Rapids is an beautiful inland city as can be found in the West: situated in the rich valley of the Cedar River, and surrounded by a pleasant and fertile country. If the sentiments entertained here by the people were as good and as productive as the native soil is, we might be compared to a "city set upon a hill whose maker and builder is the Lord," or an Oasis in the far west. To give a history of the sentiment here, it is only necessary to refer to the Churches tolerated, or the religion of the place. We have the Cedars, Episcopalians, Old and New School Presbyterians, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodists and United Brethren. The latter church is the only one that makes any pretensions to anti-slavery. They say "they preach deliverance to the captives," and evince their sincerity of the same by refusing the slaveholder communion or fellowship in their church. The result is they are but few and unpopular. The other churches make no pretensions to reform of any kind, except the New School Presbyterians who pretend to be in favor of the Prohibitory Liquor Law, but have since proven that it was a mere Chicanery—an effort to be with the "vox populi," by their refusing to aid in any manner the enforcement of the law. One Deacon in the said church, said he had one hundred dollars to expend in the enforcement of the Liquor Law, the result has proven that the zealous Deacon lied—Because he has known many violations of the law by drunkenness, and let them pass with impunity. The only effort in Cedar Rapids to enforce the prohibitory liquor law, was made by Doctor E. L. Mansfield and others out side of the church. I have attended all the churches in Cedar Rapids (except the Catholic) and never have heard a sentence expressed in disapprobation of Slavery, by either minister or hearers, in the church, except by the United Brethren. I think the sentiment out side the church is in advance of that in the church. For instance, in circulating the petition for the impeachment of Judge Kane, I obtained 110 names, out of that number only three were connected with the church; two were United Brethren, one a private member, the other a preacher, W. M. Stuart the well known friend of the oppressed every where. The other was a New School Presbyterian Clergyman. He said he was anti-slavery, would not commune with nor give his Pulpit to a slaveholder or recognize him as a Christian. These were all out of the sacred order that I could prevail upon to preach the gospel of deliverance to the captives, by doing an overt act to accomplish the same. Rev. Star, Episcopalian, (late from the east, who is pastor of the Church here, some of whose members practice usury, at the rate of from 36 to 72 percent per annum) refused to sign the Petition for the removal of Judge Kane from office for seeking to enslave a woman and her two children, thus virtually saying, remain, you have done right. Such Rev'ds as this frequently are heard to say you ought to observe the golden rule, you ought to do as you wish to be done by. In order to show the workings of the corrupt pro-slavery religion, politically as well as morally, I will quote from a call to the Democrats of Rapids Township to elect delegates to the county Convention in pursuance of a call for the same. "There will be a meeting of Rapids Township Electors who are opposed to Abolitionism. Know nothingism, Sumptuary Legislation (or mainlainism), and fanaticism of all descriptions, and who are in favor of the Constitution and the Union and of the honored principles of Democracy." At this meeting were prominent members of the church among which was Judge Green (an official member of Rev. Starr's church,) who declared his approval of the above, in connection with the Nebraska bill and endorsing the administration to let go and that he was in favor of the same. On motion of this pious Judge the Iowa State Democratic platform was adopted, to wit:

"Resolution 6th. That we deprecate as dangerous to the peace and safety of the country the agitation of the Slavery question."

7th. Resolved. That we have no sympathy with Northern Abolitionists. * * *

"14. Resolved. That we behold in the present administration, the true consummation of the nation's peace, prosperity and happiness. * * * this administration has been as successful in avoiding reasonable cause for complaint as those which have preceded it."

The above is the platform of the (so called) Democracy of Iowa; or in other words, the religion of Iowa, written out in a political platform. At the meeting above referred to, there were the church members and democrats in Union with a South Carolina Manthief who says he now holds in Slavery the "Old black woman who first nursed and took care of him in infancy and also the one that took care of his wife in her infancy." He does nothing but advocate slavery and democracy, and loaf about and take his ease while he is receiving his entire support from the labor and hardships imposed upon his Slaves in South Carolina; yet at the same time he is recognized by the church and democracy as a good democrat and a worthy citizen. The friends of the slave are increasing every day in spite of all opposition. One year ago, there were not enough reformers to hold a meeting; now we frequently have meetings, and Lectures; the friends of the slave are at work, speaking, writing, lecturing and trying to extend the circulation of anti-slavery information. The slave has some valuable friends in Iowa; some whose sympathy is as much enlisted in the cause of humanity as any I have ever met with.

"For he who values Liberty; confides His zeal for her preeminence within No narrow bounds; her cause engages him Wherever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of man!"

The signs are ominous of good, the public mind is changing, the people are willing to bear, reformers are learning how to work, and when they shall learn that in *union* there is strength, and they *shall* devise some common plan, for all, and upon which all can cooperate, then will the dawn of freedom begin to usher in, and the freedom of the slave be near at hand.

"Wait, wait ye gentle Story, And you ye Ocean, roll, Till like a sea of glory It spreads from pole to pole."

B. E. BAKER.

They are agitating the slavery question in Texas. At Galveston a meeting has been held, at which a resolution was adopted instructing the Galveston representatives in the Legislature to endeavor to effect the passage of a law to prohibit free negro sailors from being brought within the waters of Galveston bay; also a resolution, calling upon Mr. Sherwood, member of the Legislature, to resign, because of a speech in which he uttered sentiments regarding and insulting to the feelings of the South.—*Leader.*

BLACK LAWS.—By authority vested in me as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Kansas Territory, I do hereby proclaim that the qualified electors of said Territory will, on the 15th day of December, A. D. 1855, express their approval or disapproval of the passage of laws by the General Assembly providing for the exclusion of free negroes from the State of Kansas, in the following manner: by voting at the said election a written or printed ticket labeled "Exclusion of Negroes and Mulattoes. Yes or No," those in favor voting "Yes," and those against "No." The result of such vote to operate as instructions to the first General Assembly upon that subject. The said votes to be received by the same judges, and the election conducted as provided in the proclamation of even date herewith, in reference to the Constitution and General Banking Laws.

Given under my hand at the office of the executive Committee of Kansas Territory, at Topeka, this 24th day of November, A. D. 1855.

J. H. LANE, Chairman.

J. K. GOODIN, Secretary.

COLORADO SEAMEN IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Charleston Mercury notes the fact that Charleston city, in mass, favors a modification of the Carolina law; but that through fear of Abolition incendiaries, opposition to it comes from the country residents. We quote:

"There is no danger, and in fact those who oppose the change know well enough that there is no danger. They are not thinking of that, but they say it would be a lowering the crest of the State, to change a law at the request of a foreign Government, that somebody would say we were backing out, &c.

"There is another side to this argument, that it is well not to overlook. This being forever fully upon guard when there is no appreciable danger, this seeming admission that we are always on the tenter-hooks of expectation of some mysterious and terrible catastrophe. Is it not a sort of justification of the everlasting fear of the enemies of slavery, that we have no confidence in the stability of our institutions, and no trust in the loyalty of our servile population?

"Yet we do not believe that there is on the face of the earth a dependant population more trusted or more worthy to be trusted than the slaves of South Carolina. Why should we, then counterfeited fears that nobody really entertains? Why endeavor to threaten subversion into one of the most relentless despots which has ever darkened the pages of history?

My dear sir, I know that you feel with me the world wide consequences of the crisis. May the God of our fathers move us to do our whole duty. I am your ob't serv't.

C. M. CLAY.

A DARK STAR.

The Star of the West, a Universalist paper published in Cincinnati is in great trouble. It has quite a circulation in the south, and is trying to realize a state of "utopianism" on the slavery question. This is rendered doubly difficult, from the fact that a growing organ of "free education" in Alabama is determined to push the Star off of the fence, on one side or the other. The Alabamaian, like a cunning tactician, publishes in his paper, the southern half of one of the Star's articles on slavery, and does not publish the southern half of the same article. The Star thinks this very mean and calls his southern Brother dishonest. The Star

dissolved. He trusted no man would expect him to reply to that gentleman (Mr. McMullen), except in case of palpable misrepresentation.

Mr. McMullen—What does the member mean? Does he suppose he is capable of insulting any member on this floor? When I am assailed by the contemptible member from Ohio I will defend myself here or elsewhere. (Sensation.) I did condemn the course of that member, and have nothing to take back.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from Hon. A. P. Stone to Cassius M. Clay.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Dec. 12, 1855.

HON. C. M. CLAY—DEAR SIR: The Ohio Republican Convention held in this city, 15th of July last, instructed the State Central Committee, of which I am Chairman, to open a correspondence with the Republicans of other States, in regard to holding a National Republican Convention. A portion of the Republican press of this and other States, and a number of our most devoted friends, have expressed themselves in favor of holding an informal Mass Republican Convention at Pittsburgh, on the 22d of February, to consult together and to organize a National Republican Committee, preparatory to issuing a call for a delegate Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. Does the proposition to hold this meeting, strike you favorably? Might we expect a representation at the meeting from Kentucky and the other Southern States? The enemies of the Republican party charge that it is a sectional party, confined to the Free States and opposed to the people of the Slave States. On the contrary we think that freedom to which the Republican party is devoted, is national and not sectional, and that our position of opposition to all further extension of slavery ought to commend itself to the generous and humane of the Slave States, whether slaveholders or non-slaveholders. May we not expect to have a Republican electoral ticket, and numerous supporters in the Slave States during the next Presidential contest?

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
A. P. STONE,
Chairman of R. S. C. Committee of Ohio.

Reply of Mr. Clay.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 15, 1855.

HON. A. P. STONE—DEAR SIR: Your favorable consideration in asking the opinions of one so humble as myself. The Republicans of the Slave States though few in number are no new party. Faithful among the faithful, proof against the seductions of office and the threatenings of power, we stand firm among the platform of our fathers of '76, in the world wide spirit of the Declaration. We hold with Jefferson and his distinguished contemporaries—that slavery is an anomaly in a Republic, and against the law of God and man's instincts of right—that justice is always the highest expediency—that liberty and slavery cannot co-exist—but that one or the other must die.—Whilst on the one hand we base ourselves upon these central ideas which we inherited as our birth-right as true Republicans, we do not forget that without law there can be no true freedom or progress. We have, therefore, studiously regarded the high obligations of the State and Federal Constitutions, and willingly subject ourselves to their supremacy, even when perverted by mercenary majorities from their true spirit. We regard those as sufficiently anti-slavery for all political purposes—as found in their own language to establish liberty and justice—that liberty is national and slavery sectional, in elaboration of which idea I refer you to the late letter of the venerable F. P. Blair, the distinguished friend and confidential adviser of Andrew Jackson. We are neither the advocates of centralization nor disunion, but the friends of National and State rights in the ample spheres of progress and reform with which the wisdom of our fathers compassed both. We therefore believe it to be our bounden duty as good men and true Republicans, to oppose nationally the extension of slavery, under any pretence whatever in places of exclusive National domain, by sea and land, and to bring the moral and political influence of the National government permanently and firmly and avowedly on the side of liberty, as it has heretofore been arrayed on the side of slavery.—And as the friends of liberty have acquiesced, with extraordinary resistance, in the rule of slavery, so we demand that the slavery propaganda shall acquiesce in the new rule of liberty and law, and they shall be justly branded as traitors to both North and South, who counsel or act in violation of this only possibility of popular government!

Now, sir, there are many in the Slave States ready to set openly with the Republican party—those who secretly sympathize with the movement—and (in my judgement) a majority of all the South who will acquiesce in our rule. I believe that the time has now come when the majority of the American people are ready to vindicate the faith of our fathers in their capability of self-government. But it cannot be disguised that this majority is now fragmentary and disorganized, and it requires sagacious leadership and self-sacrificing patriotism to array them in successful opposition to the concentrated and drilled forces of the present pro-slavery administration. I think, then, your suggestion is a good one, and that it will meet the views of the whole Republican party. For the sake of unity, let the first meeting at Pittsburgh, on the 22d of February next, be as homogeneous as possible. Then let the National Committee open an active and conciliatory correspondence with all the opponents of the slave propaganda. Let Whig and Democrat—Know-Nothing and anti-Know-Nothing—Catholic and Protestant—native born and adopted—and all shades of opinion, be urged by the great necessity of immediate and decisive action, to save, if possible, the Republic from its threatened subversion into one of the most relentless despots which has ever darkened the pages of history!

My dear sir, I know that you feel with me the world wide consequences of the crisis. May the God of our fathers move us to do our whole duty. I am your ob't serv't.

C. M. CLAY.

A DARK STAR.

The Star of the West, a Universalist paper published in Cincinnati is in great trouble. It has quite a circulation in the south, and is trying to realize a state of "utopianism" on the slavery question. This is rendered doubly difficult, from the fact that a growing organ of "free education" in Alabama is determined to push the Star off of the fence, on one side or the other. The Alabamaian, like a cunning tactician, publishes in his paper, the southern half of one of the Star's articles on slavery, and does not publish the southern half of the same article. The Star thinks this very mean and calls his southern Brother dishonest. The Star

dissolved. He trusted no man would expect him to reply to that gentleman (Mr. McMullen), except in case of palpable misrepresentation.

insists that it has nothing to do with the slavery question, only to leave it with the influence of the gospel. The influence of the gospel against slavery in the hands of men who dare not preach an anti-slavery gospel, must be like the influence of the light in a den of dragons where it is never permitted to enter. The twinkling of such an uncertain dodging-two-sided-Star must be far from edifying to men of decent humanity to say nothing of christianity. Its position reminds us of the preacher, whose pulpit was in the middle of the meeting house, with the Calvinistic hearers on one side of him, and the Armenians on the other. He preached Calvinism until the Armenians began to look cross and uneasy, and the Calvinists to chuckle, when turning to the Armenian side of the pulpit, he argued up "free grace and full redemption" until the Calvinists looked ominous of closing their purses and withdrawing their support, when he gave election another turn, and thus left the question unsettled, which side he was on. This Cincinnati Star seems to be trying the same game, and we presume that he will argue himself beat on both sides, in turn.

PARLIAMENTARY LAW—A SOUND RESOLUTION.

As might have been expected, when Congress assembled, there was some difficulty in bringing the members of the Opposition to act together, but gradual interchange of sentiment finally united the majority of them, and they agreed unanimously upon the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Giddings:

Resolved, That we will support none for Speaker who is not pledged to carry out the Parliamentary Law, by giving to each proposed measure ordered by the House of Representatives to be considered to a Select Committee, a majority of the members of said Committee, and to organize the Standing Committees of the House, by placing on each a majority of the friends of Freedom, favorable to making reports on all petitions committed to them."

Last week, while Mr. Giddings was addressing the House, he was interrupted by Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, who rose to ask him whether he had submitted such a resolution, whether it had been adopted, and whether the candidates for whom the Opposition had been voting, had pledged themselves as required. The prompt reply was that he had proposed the resolution, and that it had been unanimously adopted. The resolution was intended to define a common ground on which the Opposition could stand. The candidates voted for were not present; they were not asked as to their opinion; no pledge was exacted from them. The pledge referred to in the resolution was only such as might be found in their known opinions and positions, and in the record of their political life.

Mr. Giddings then turned upon Mr. Letcher, and asked him whether he would vote for his candidate (Mr. Richardson,) if he believed that he would act on the principle embodied in that resolution? The same question he put to ex-Governor Smith of Virginia; but both returned evasive answers; and when Mr. Richardson was asked directly by Mr. G. whether he recognized the soundness of such a resolution, he merely replied—"I am a candidate—the gentleman from Ohio is not."

PROCLAMATION.

BLACK LAWS.—By authority vested in me as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Kansas Territory, I do hereby proclaim that the qualified electors of said Territory will, on the 15th day of December, A. D. 1855, express their approval or disapproval of the passage of laws by the General Assembly providing for the exclusion of free negroes from the State of Kansas, in the following manner: by voting at the said election a written or printed ticket labeled "Exclusion of Negroes and Mulattoes. Yes or No," those in favor voting "Yes," and those against "No." The result of such vote to operate as instructions to the first General Assembly upon that subject. The said votes to be received by the same judges, and the election conducted as provided in the proclamation of even date herewith, in reference to the Constitution and General Banking Laws.

Given under my hand at the office of the executive Committee of Kansas Territory, at Topeka, this 24th day of November, A. D. 1855.

J. H. LANE, Chairman.

J. K. GOODIN, Secretary.

COLORADO SEAMEN IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Charleston Mercury notes the fact that Charleston city, in mass, favors a modification of the Carolina law; but that through fear of Abolition incendiaries, opposition to it comes from the country residents. We quote:

"There is no danger, and in fact those who oppose the change know well enough that there is no danger. They are not thinking of that, but they say it would be a lowering the crest of the State, to change a law at the request of a foreign Government, that somebody would say we were backing out, &c.

"There is another side to this argument, that it is well not to overlook. This being forever fully upon guard when there is no appreciable danger, this seeming admission that we are always on the tenter-hooks of expectation of some mysterious and terrible catastrophe. Is it not a sort of justification of the everlasting fear of the enemies of slavery, that we have no confidence in the stability of our institutions, and no trust in the loyalty of our servile population?

"Yet we do not believe that there is on the face of the earth a dependant population more trusted or more worthy to be trusted than the slaves of South Carolina. Why should we, then counterfeited fears that nobody really entertains? Why endeavor to threaten subversion into one of the most relentless despots which has ever darkened the pages of history?

My dear sir, I know that you feel with me the world wide consequences of the crisis. May the God of our fathers move us to do our whole duty. I am your ob't serv't.

C. M. CLAY.

A DARK STAR.

The Star of the West, a Universalist paper published in Cincinnati is in great trouble. It has quite a circulation in the south, and is trying to realize a state of "utopianism" on the slavery question. This is rendered doubly difficult, from the fact that a growing organ of "free education" in Alabama is determined to push the Star off of the fence, on one side or the other. The Alabamaian, like a cunning tactician, publishes in his paper, the southern half of one of the Star's articles on slavery, and does not publish the southern half of the same article. The Star thinks this very mean and calls his southern Brother dishonest. The Star

dissolved. He trusted no man would expect him to reply to that gentleman (Mr. McMullen), except in case of palpable misrepresentation.

had some proper sense of the importance of that issue and were resolved to stand by the right. It is a new development in office holding history among us, so far as any considerable numbers are concerned. And the example will not be lost upon men in other stations in life. It is a species of nullification for freedom's sake, that points hopefully towards the needed more radical revolution.

The people will learn from this unaccustomed suspension of legislative operations at Washington that the ordinary operations of nature will move on without them, while the slaveholders and especially the slaveholding government will learn how dispensibly important is slaveholding legislation to their prosperity and power. The people can do without the organization of the House of Representatives. Franklin Pierce's slaveholding government cannot. The one hundred and five Republicans at Washington, cannot do a better service, to their country than to continue to vote for Banks till the 4th of march 1857. The north can do without their legislation. Even Kansas has proved, since the contest for Speaker commenced, that she can take care of herself. And the men in Congress who prove themselves true to their principles will sacrifice nothing which cannot be spared, while they will gain much in reputation and self respect, for themselves personally and for the nation at large. With most hearty good will their constituents will vote "an appropriation bill" to be paid out of their own pockets, which shall secure them the full amount of their mileage and per diem, and what, ever more is wanted for the war. "Millions for war, but not one cent for tribute!" must be the principle controlling our policy now, if we would demolish that tyranny which rules us and crushes the slave. All honor then to the firmness of the Republicans in Congress. Let them continue it and they will triumph in this contest, and they and the people will be encouraged to cultivate this manly virtue—the decay of which among the people of the North, has brought upon them their humiliating subjection.

We take especial pleasure in stating our gratification at the firmness thus manifested by so large a body of the Republican delegation in Congress, because, we have expected a much larger number of traitors to their professed principles, than have as yet developed themselves. We hope to have occasion to congratulate the country on their continued firmness and fidelity. For if they yield at this point, if they consent to compromise, they are conquered without the hope of redress in the present Congress; and they have only to submit to the insulances of their conquerors with the meekness of slaves.

Mr. Giddings speech, which we publish on our outside, provoked some feeling among the slaveholders, and Mr. McMullen of Virginia undertook to enact a little tragedy on the occasion but as it seems it turned out a laughable farce.

Says the Era:

"The speech of Mr. Giddings in the early part of last week is to appear in full. It was rather exciting to some of the slaveholding members, but was listened to with profound attention. It brought out Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, in a series of hypothetical attacks on the Union. It is characteristic of the class to which he belongs, that whenever they hear of a tremendous volley, they let fly at the Union. The discreet and sedate men rarely venture upon these desperate onslaughts, but Mr. McMullen is an excitable man, and cannot always hold himself in.

"Sir, let me tell that member and this House and the country, that should this country ever arrive at that unfortunate state of affairs that the Government should pass into the hands of the North—of such a northern man as that fanatical character over the way, (laughter,) and that that Government should restore the Missouri Compromise or repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, then in such a case I would have to endorse the declaration of the honorable gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Campbell,) that is to say, that this Union must and will be dissolved, (cries of "Oh, no!") the declaration of the gray-headed man over the way, (Mr. Giddings,) notwithstanding."

"Mr. McMullen, finding by the "Oh, no," that some rather doubted on this point, proceeded to satisfy them that there could be no mistake about it. "I tell you, sir, and I want the country to know it—I want the gentlemen from the free States, our Abolitionists, or whatever else you may be, to know it—that if you restore the Missouri Compromise, or repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, this Union will be dissolved." (Laughter, and cries of "Oh, no, oh, no.")

"The uproarious merriment of the House evidently vexed the orator, and he rebuked them, saying, 'Gentlemen, laughing is no part of our duty. If laughing were arguments, the subject would be well argued here to-day; but this is no laughing subject.'

"Whereat, the incorrigibles only laughed the more; and the House for the time was fairly carried away, when he closed his grand display by the following heroic outburst:

"The Capitol now belongs to no section. It belongs alike to North, South, East, and West. But, sir, it was erected upon slave territory, and if the hand of disunion shall ever sever the States of this Republic, you shall never take possession of it while I occupy my seat as a Representative upon this floor. And more, I tell them that when the North and the South sever the connection which now binds them together, the North will never take possession of this Capitol, unless they pass over my dead body. (Laughter.)

"After this, the country may sleep in peace. Speaker or no Speaker, the country is safe."

On the 24th, Steward, one of the slaveocracy of Maryland undertook to raise some indignation against Mr. Banks, by charging that he had recently said, "Let the Union slide!" Mr. Banks explained. He was for the Union as it is, and would fight against its enemies here and elsewhere. The Union as it might be, he should be willing to let slide. Smith of Virginia was not satisfied with Mr. Banks' permission to the Union to slide in any contingency. Grow of Pennsylvania retorted that slaveholders were continually threatening disunion without qualification.

Mr. Boyce asked Mr. Banks, among other questions, "Are you in favor of recognizing Hayti, and receiving a black minister? Do you favor the abolition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia?"

Mr. Banks, following the example of Richardson declined answering these questions as he was a candidate. One of the slaveholders then took occasion to say he was in favor of letting the Union slide. But those immaculate patriots, the Richardson Democrats, showed no holy horror for this declaration as when it came from a man of Massachusetts.

When Massachusetts resolves to "let the Union slide" rather than support slavery, as it does, then will slaveholders pale with fear and wrath, knowing that the rule of their cherished system has ended. Therefore, we say, Let the Union slide—The Union as it is.

Very true. It is also true that no one can receive the support of the Democratic party, who is not in favor of stealing, and of stealing men women and children. John Van Buren is himself a distinguished advocate of stealing. Why should he find fault with the Washington Union?

AN EXCELLENT INSTITUTION.—The new State Idiot Asylum, at Syracuse, New York, which was lately opened, is in a flourishing and prosperous condition. The institution now contains about eighty patients, all of whom are instructed in reading and writing and ciphering, as far as their constitutional and intellectual strength will admit.

Certainly this is a better institution than "our peculiar" one which makes known of one class of inhabitants, and illits of another!

THE KANSAS WAR.

The correspondent of the St. Louis Intelligence under date of Dec. 10th, says that after two days of laborious negotiation, between Gov. Shannon on one side and Gen. Robinson and Colonel Lane on the part of the people of Lawrence on the other the whole matter was brought to a close:

The Governor, in a paper signed by him and Gen. Robinson and Col. Lane, declared that as the people of Lawrence and vicinity were, as they always had been, law and order abiding people, that he, the Governor, pledged himself that he would not employ these forces below against the people of Kansas, as a posse comitatus, or as a military force, to recover indemnity to the people of Kansas for their losses. It was also declared that these Missourians were on Kansas soil without his authority. Gov. Shannon also promised his influence to recover indemnity to the people of Kansas for their losses. It was also declared that the people of Kansas had a right to test the validity of the laws of the territorial Legislature in a proper way, and also explicitly declared that no opinion as to the validity of these laws was given, or conceded by the terms of the agreement.

The Governor made an odd speech as to the character of these laws before he left Lawrence on Saturday night, and promised that he would do all he could to get the men below disarmed. When he went back to the camp on the Wakarusa, there was an awful disturbance. A large number wanted to come up and "whip the Abolitionists any how." Col. Boone, of Westport, who had been a party to the negotiation, though not a signatory, around Lawrence, for a week made a speech in favor of the Missourians going home. "The position of Gen. Robinson," he said, "is impregnable, not in a military point of view, but his tactics have given him all the advantage as to cause of quarrel. If you attack Lawrence now, you attack it as a mob, and what would be the result? Tell you it would cause the election of an Abolition President, and the ruin of the Democratic Party. Wait a little—now you cannot destroy these people without losing more than you would gain. Such were the leading features of his "peace speech." Other things had a happy effect on the negotiations, and provisions were made for the people below. We had a tremendous storm of wind, with sleet and rain; it was almost impossible to light a fire, or to hear them. And next day the men disarmed, and went home very fast swearing vengeance on Governor Shannon. They had also been urged by their leaders, who told them that the Free State people were to give up their arms and surrender unconditionally.

There are many interesting events connected with this affair, that I will give in subsequent letters. The Missourians carried with them three dead bodies; one of these had been shot by their own guard, who mistook him for a Free State man; one was killed in a drunken row, and one shot himself accidentally; several others were wounded in the same way by themselves. All the blood spilt has been by the invaders. Two Free State men were known to have been shot, and both were deliberate and cold-blooded murders; and the facts connected with the shooting of Barker, and the killing by a party who met him on the prairie, and finally murdered him when he was completely without arms, are so atrocious a character as to have aided materially in disgusting and driving many of the better class from the invading camp. Indeed, the blood of Barker was unquestionably one of the parts of that price which the Free State men have paid for their victory.

BLACK LAWS IN KANSAS.—The people of Kansas were to have voted on the adoption of their State Constitution on the 15th ult. At the same time they were called upon to express their approval or disapproval of the passage of laws by the General Assembly excluding free negroes from the State. The result of the vote by the people to act as instructions to the first General Assembly on that subject.

Thus the Kansas men (some of them Free State men) are for expelling colored people from the Territory because they are free. And Missourians are for expelling the free State men because they are against slaveholding in the Territory. Is it any less a crime to expel colored men than white?

REVIVALS AMONG THE SLAVEHOLDERS.—Six Camp meetings recently held near Winchester Tenn. resulted in sixty-five or seventy hopeful conversions, with forty-five or fifty accessions to the church. At New Hope, Tenn., twenty-two white persons and three blacks professed religion during such a meeting. It was the Cumberland Presbyterians of Indiana, who in order to keep up their fellowship with these Tennessee Brethren recently expelled a minister from their body for an act of humanity to a slave, and who was also necessary to such measures as compelled him to flee from his home to escape incarceration in a Kentucky penitentiary. And that for an exhibition of christianity made in

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

DEATH OF GEORGE GARRETSON.

We have to record the death of George Garretson of New Lisbon, which occurred during the early part of the present week. Our friend who has now passed away from the earthly scene of his labors and usefulness, was a most estimable man, distinguished wherever known, for his integrity of character—a most public spirited and useful citizen—and from the very commencement of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, most faithfully and uncompromisingly devoted to its interests. He was one of the few working, reliable abolitionists of New Lisbon. He took a deep interest in the early establishment of the Bugle and has ever been its faithful, a faithful supporter of the Western Anti-Slavery Society from its commencement.

Thus one by one are the old and tried abolitionists passing away. A mournful stimulus to all remaining, to redouble their diligence, that before they go to their last rest, they may see the fruit of their labors in the emancipation of the Slave.

TERRIBLE RAILROAD COLLISION.

On Monday evening, at twenty-three minutes past four, P. M., the freight train, David Croft, Conductor, going east, and the Express train, A. C. Levitt, Conductor, coming west, both under full headway, ran into each other, two miles east of Darlington station, completely demolishing both locomotives and the baggage and first passenger car of the Express, and instantly killing three persons and wounding seventeen. The freight train was fifty minutes behind time, and had no business on the road when the accident occurred. There was but one watch on the whole train, and that out of order, and belonged to the conductor, and the engineer depended entirely on him to know when, how fast and how slow to run. Such neglect as that, until then, was unheard of in the history of running trains. The matter will no doubt be duly investigated, and the blame attached to where it properly belongs.

KILLED.—A. Stokes, stage agent, Enon Valley, Pa., head smashed. Samuel Johnson, Middleton, Ohio, throat cut. And an Irishman, supposed name, Kent.

As soon as the dispatches were received at Pittsburg, preparations were made to start a wreck train to the scene of the accident with physicians. The accommodation train which left Allegheny at five or a little afterwards, continued on to the Summit and brought back to New Brighton the killed and wounded.

The above we copy from the Salem Republican. The terrible slaughter and mangle of human beings was evidently the result of most inexcusable carelessness on the part of the employees of the railroad company, on the freight train. The company itself could not be so culpably negligent and reckless. It is as well as the immediate agents in these homicides should be held accountable by the courts of justice as well as by the public at large. In no other way can reasonable safety be secured on our great thoroughfares.

KANSAS—A FOURTH INVASION.—At the election held in Kansas on the 15th ult., for the adoption or rejection of the new Constitution, the Missouri rangers invaded the Territory. At Leavenworth they destroyed the ballot boxes and broke up the election—personally abusing some of the officials. In other places on the Missouri border they entirely prevented the holding of an election.

A house belonging to an anti-slavery man at Leavenworth, was burned, and a pro-slavery man who was charged with the act was arrested and lodged in jail. His friends rallied, broke open the jail, and burned it to the ground. Great excitement prevails, and both parties have sent for assistance.

THE SALEM BAND.—The friends and visitors at the late Fair, are under obligation to the Salem Band, for their services kindly volunteered on the last evening. They gave the company some excellent music. The good taste and skillful execution of this company is not excelled by any band we have heard in this region. The fact is highly creditable to the company, as a short time, comparatively, has elapsed since its organization.

"EXPECTATION OF DOOM."—The National Intelligence and the Boston Traveller express the hope that the "softening influences" of Christmas will induce a yielding on the part of some of the members of Congress.

A very natural expectation. In the past the compromising inability of Northern Congressmen has always been softened, indeed, fairly liquidated, by the mellowing, social and convivial influences of the slaveholders at Washington. As yet we are not so much as the softening influences have not acted as happily as hitherto.

REMOVAL OF PEACE.—It is reported that France and England have accepted the basis of peace negotiations as proposed by Austria. Expectations are expressed that Russia will not decline the basis. Most sincerely it is to be hoped that peace may be restored. The world hardly knows for what these nations are contending, and it is shamefully untrue to continue the terribly bloody and objectless war.

BARBARIC AFFAIR IN MAYSVILLE—NEGRO BURNED TO DEATH.

We are informed that on the Kentucky Thanksgiving day, a couple of young men of Maysville, whose family connections are described as of the "highest respectability," were on a drunken spree in the "Parker House," in that place, and protracted their frolic until a very late hour, after all the household had retired to bed, attempted to arouse the keeper to procure more liquor, and failing in this, and succeeding in finding a yellow man, one of the waiters, asleep, they concluded to "wake him up" by pouring the contents of a bottle of kerosene oil over his head and shoulders, and then lighting the same. The poor fellow, who was a colored man, was instantly wrapped in flames, which continued until the fluid was consumed.

The sufferings of the victim were dreadful in the extreme. No remission of torture could be obtained. He died without release from torment until the lapse of two weeks. The poor creature, who was the name of Mr. Ball, keeper of the Parker House, who says, as our informant tells us, that no man suffering could exceed that of his boy during the fortnight that he lived after the burning. The informant says that no one in Maysville speaks of the matter without a shudder of horror, and that the name of the victim has been made toward a legend of the parties implicated in the crime. We ask the citizens of Maysville to take the name of the victim, if these things are true?—Cincinnati Commercial.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

President Pierce has come to the conclusion that whether the House of Representatives is organized or not his message must go to the country and the world. Hence on Monday the 31st ult., the Message was presented and read in the Senate. In the House it was also presented where after a fierce debate the House refused to have it read by a vote of 126 to 87. Afterwards the whole subject was laid on the Table. Omitting much other matter, which we had prepared for insertion this week, we copy that portion of the Message referring to the question of Slavery:

The Congress of the United States is, in effect, that Congress of sovereignties, which good men in the Old World have sought for but could never attain, and which in parts of the American Union, from the mutable leagues for common action, from the wars, the mutual invasions, and vague aspirations after the balance of power, which convulse from time to time the Governments of Europe, our cooperative action rests in the conditions of permanent confederation prescribed by the Constitution. Our balance of power is in the separate reserved rights of the States, and their equal representation in the Senate. That independent sovereignty in every one of the States, with its reserved rights of local self-government secured to each by their coequal power in the Senate, was the fundamental condition of the Constitution. Without it the Union would never have existed. However desirable the larger States might be to reorganize the Government so as to give to their population its proportionate weight in the common councils, they knew it was impossible to exercise at least a negative influence on all the measures of the Government, whether legislative or executive, through their equal representation in the Senate. Indeed, the larger States themselves could not have failed to perceive that their power was equally necessary to them, for the security of their own domestic interests against the aggregate force of the General Government. In a word, the original States went into this permanent league on the agreed premises, of exerting their common strength for the defence of the whole, and all its parts; but of utterly excluding all capability of reciprocal aggression. Each solemnly bound itself to all the others, neither to undertake nor permit any encroachment upon, or intermeddling with, another's reserved rights.

Where it was deemed expedient, particular rights of the States were expressly guaranteed by the Constitution; but in all things beside, these rights were guarded by the limitation of the powers granted, in the compact of union. Thus, the great power of taxation was limited to purposes of common defense and general welfare, excluding objects appertaining to the local legislation of the several States; and those purposes of general welfare and common defense were afterwards defined by specific enumeration, as being matters of local concern between the States themselves, or between them and foreign Governments, which, because of their common and general nature could not be left to the separate control of each State.

Of the circumstances of local condition, interest and rights, in which a portion of the States, constituting one great section of the Union, differed from the rest and another section, the most important and peculiarly of a larger relative colored population in the Southern than the Northern States.

A population of this class, held in subjection, existed in nearly all the States, but was more numerous and of more serious concernment in the Southern States, and was a source of natural differences of climate and production; and it was foreseen that, for the same reasons, while this population would diminish, and sooner or later cease to exist in some States, it might increase in others. The peculiar character and magnitude of this question of local rights, not in material and complaint, still more in social ones, caused it to enter into the special stipulations of the Constitution.

Hence, while the General Government, as well by the enumerated powers granted to it by those not enumerated, and therefore refused to it was confined to touch this matter in the sense of attack or defense, it was placed under the general safeguard of the Union, in the sense of defense against either invasion or domestic violence, like all other local interests of the several States. Each State expressly stipulated, as well for itself as for each and all of its citizens, and every citizen of each State became solemnly bound by his allegiance to the Constitution, that any person, held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, should not in consequence of any law or regulation thereof, be discharged from such service or labor, but should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due by the laws of his State.

Thus and thus only, by the reciprocal guaranty of all the rights of every State against interference on the part of another, was the present form of attempts to subvert the Union, and to transmute it to exist; and by no other means is it possible for it to exist. If one State ceases to respect the rights of another, and obtrusively intermeddles with its local interests—if a portion of the States assume to impose their institutions on the others, or refuse to fulfill their obligations to them—we are no longer united, friendly States, but distracted, hostile ones, with little capacity left of common advantage, but abundant means of reciprocal injury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether aggressive interference by one State, or defensive refusal of the part of any one of them to comply with constitutional obligations, arise from erroneous conviction or blind prejudice, whether it be perpetrated by direction or indirection. In either case, it is full of threat and of danger of the durability of the Union.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

Placed in the office of the Chief Magistrate as the executive agent of the whole country, bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and specially enjoined by the Constitution to give to the laws the force of law, it is his duty to see that it would be palpable neglect of duty on my part to pass at a subject like this, which, beyond all things at the present time, vitally concerns individual and public security.

It has been a matter of painful regret to see such conspicuous failure of their services in founding this Republic and equally sharing its advantages, disregard their constitutional obligations to it. Although conscious of their inability to heal admitted and palpable social evils of their own, and which are completely within their jurisdiction, they engage in the domestic institutions of other States wholly beyond their control and authority. In the vain pursuit of ends by them entirely unattainable, and which they may not legally attempt to compass, they peril the very existence of the Constitution, and all the countless benefits which it has conferred. While the people of the Southern States confine their attention to their own affairs, not presuming officiously to intermeddle with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in association to inflict injury on the rights of persons and of property in the other States, to discipline their own injustice, pretend or disguise, and constantly avow, that they whose constitutional rights are thus systematically assailed are themselves the aggressors. At the present time this impudent aggression, resting as it does, on the vague, declamatory charges of political agitators, resolves itself into misrepresentation, or misinterpretation of the principles and facts of the misinterpretation of the new Territories of the United States.

What is the voice of history? When the ordinance, which provided for the government of the territory north-west of the River Ohio, and for its eventual subdivision into new States, was adopted in the Congress of the Confederation, it is not to be supposed that the question of slavery relative to power, as between the States which retained and those which did not retain a numerous colored population, escaped notice or failed to be considered, and yet the concession of that vast territory to the interests and opinions of the Northern States, a Territory now the seat of the largest and the most powerful members of the Union was, in great measure, the act of the State of Virginia and of the South. When Louisiana was acquired by the United States, it was an acquisition not less to the North than to the South; for while it was important to the country at the mouth of the river Mississippi, to become the emporium of the country above it, so also it was even more important to the whole Union to have that emporium; and although the new province, by reason of its imperfect settlement was mainly regarded as on the Gulf of Mexico, yet in fact it extended to the opposite boundaries of the United States, and was, in territory as in everything else, equally at least an accession to the Northern States. It is mere delusion and prejudice, therefore, to speak of Louisiana as an acquisition in the special interest of the South. The patriots and just men who participated in that act were influenced by motives far above all sectional jealousies. It was in truth the great event, which by completing for us the possession of the valley of the Mississippi, with commercial access to the Gulf of Mexico, imparted unity and strength to the whole Confederation, and attached together by indissoluble ties the East and the West, as well as the North and the South. As to Florida, that was but the transfer by Spain to the United States of territory on the east side of the River Mississippi, the exchange of which the United States had offered to Spain on the west side of that river, as the entire diplomatic history of the transaction serves to demonstrate. Moreover, it was an acquisition deemed by the commercial interests and the security of the whole Union.

Meantime, the United States had grown up to a proper consciousness of their strength, and in a brief contest with France, and in a second serious war with Great Britain, they had shaken off all which remained of undue reverence for Europe, and emerged from the atmosphere of European influence, and had begun to round the infant Republic and had begun to turn their attention to the full and systematic development of the internal resources of the Union. Among the evanescent controversies of that period, the most conspicuous was the question of regulating the slave trade, and of the future States to be found in the Territory of Louisiana.

The ordinance for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio had contained a provision, which prohibited the use of servile labor therein, subject to the condition of the extradition of the fugitive to the State to which he belonged. Subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution this provision ceased to remain as a law; for its operation as such was absolutely superseded by the Constitution. But the recollection of the fact excited the zeal of anti-slavery men, and they began to demand that the infant Republic and had begun to turn their attention to the full and systematic development of the internal resources of the Union.

Most questionable as was this proposition in all its constitutional relations, nevertheless it received the sanction of Congress, with some slight modifications of line, to save the existing rights of the intended new State. It was reluctantly acquiesced in by Southern States, as a concession to the peace and of the Union, not only of the rights stipulated by the treaty of Louisiana, but of the principle of equality among the States guaranteed by the Constitution. It was received by the Northern States with angry and resentful condemnation, because it did not extend to the territory which they had exactly demanded. Having passed through the forms of legislation, it took its place in the statute book, standing open to repeal, like any other act of doubtful constitutionality subject to the prompt and sure nullification of the courts of law, possessing no possible efficacy to control the rights of the States, which might thereafter be organized out of any part of the original Territory of Louisiana.

In all this, if any aggression there were, any unconstitutional usurpation of rights, to which portion of the Union are they justly chargeable? This controversy passed away with the occasion, nothing surviving it save the dormant letter of the statute. But long afterward, when, by the proposed acquisition of the Republic of Texas, the States were to take their next step in territorial greatness, a similar contingency occurred, and became the occasion for systematized attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of one section of the Union, in defiance of their rights as States, and of the stipulations of the Constitution, and to attempt to subvert the Union, and to transmute it to exist; and by no other means is it possible for it to exist. If one State ceases to respect the rights of another, and obtrusively intermeddles with its local interests—if a portion of the States assume to impose their institutions on the others, or refuse to fulfill their obligations to them—we are no longer united, friendly States, but distracted, hostile ones, with little capacity left of common advantage, but abundant means of reciprocal injury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether aggressive interference by one State, or defensive refusal of the part of any one of them to comply with constitutional obligations, arise from erroneous conviction or blind prejudice, whether it be perpetrated by direction or indirection. In either case, it is full of threat and of danger of the durability of the Union.

THE CAMPAIGN IN MICHIGAN.

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions and Meetings, under the auspices of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, to be addressed by AARON M. POWELL, J. H. PHILLIPS, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and Mrs. MARY A. PHILLIPS, Agent of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, will be held as follows:

It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offering of that sectional agitation now prevailing in some of the States, which are as impracticable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is mere angry, idle, aimless disturbance of public peace and tranquility. Disunion for what? If the passion of race and fanaticism and partisan spirit did not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe that any considerable portion of the people of this enlightened country could have so surrendered themselves to a fanatical delusion, as to suppose interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abandon and disregard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans—to trample under foot the injunctions of moral and constitutional obligation—and to engage in plans of vindictive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our national institutions.

Nor is it hostility against their fellow-citizens of one section the Union alone. The interests, the honor, the duty, the peace, and the prosperity of the people of all sections are equally involved and imperilled in this question. And are patriotic men so stupid as to be prepared, on such an issue, thus madly to invite all the consequences of the forfeiture of their constitutional engagements? It is impossible. The storm of frenzy and faction must inevitably dash itself in vain against the unshaken rock of the Constitution. I shall never doubt it. I know that the Union is able and willing to stand, and that the provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service as to place that public duty under the safeguard of the General Government, and thus relieve it from obstacles raised up by the legislation of some of the States.

their execution by riot and murder, continued for a brief time to agitate certain localities. But the true principle of leaving each State and Territory to regulate its own laws of labor according to its own sense of right and expediency, had acquired fast hold of the public judgment to such a degree that, by common consent, it was observed in the organization of the Territory of Washington.

When, more recently, it became requisite to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, it was the natural and legitimate, if not the inevitable, consequence of previous events and legislation, that the same great and sound principle, which had already been applied to United New Mexico, should be applied to them; that they should stand exempt from the restrictions proposed in the act relative to the State of Missouri.

These restrictions were, in the estimation of many thoughtful men, null from the beginning, unsanctioned by the Constitution, contrary to the great stipulation of the treaty of Louisiana, and inconsistent with the equality of the States. They had been stripped of all moral authority, by persistent efforts to procure their indirect repeal through contradictory enactments. They had been practically abrogated by the legislation attending the organization of Utah, New Mexico and Washington. If any vitality remained in them, it would have been taken away in effect by the new Territorial acts, in the form originally proposed to the Senate at the first session of the last Congress.

It was mainly an ingenious as well as patriotic and just to do this indirectly and plainly, and thus relieve the statute-book of an act which might be of possible future benefit; and the measures of its repeal was the final consummation and complete recognition of the principle that no portion of the United States should undertake, through assumption of the powers of the General Government, to dictate the social institutions of any other portion.

The scope and effect of the language of repeal were not left in doubt. It was declared, in terms, to be "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State nor to exclude it there, but to leave them perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The measure could not be withdrawn upon its merits alone. It was attacked with violence on the ground that it was a violation of the compact of faith. Never was objection more utterly destitute of substantial justification. When before was it imagined by sensible men that a restrictive or declarative statute, whether enacted ten or forty years ago, is irreparable—that an Act of Congress is above the Constitution? If, indeed, there should be a principle of repeal, the matter involved to the discretion of the people of the respective existing or incipient States.

It is not pretended that this principle, or other, precludes the possibility of evils in practice, disturbed as political action is liable to be by human passions. No form of Government is exempt from inconveniences; but in this case they are the result of the exercise of the powers reserved or conferred in the organization of a Territory. They are not to be charged to the great principle of popular sovereignty; on the contrary, they disappear before the intelligence and patriotism of the people, exerting through the ballot-box their peaceful and silent but irresistible power.

If the friends of the Constitution are to have another struggle, its enemies could not present a more acceptable issue than that of a State whose Constitution clearly embraces "a Republican form of Government," being excluded from the Union because its domestic institutions may not in all respects comport with the ideas of what is wise and expedient entertained in some other State. Fresh from groundless imputations of breach of faith against others, men will commence the agitation of this new principle with indubitable confidence of an express compact between the independent sovereign powers of the United States and the Republic of Texas, as well as of the older and equally solemn compacts which assure the equality of all the States.

But deplorable as would be such a violation of compact in itself and in all its direct consequences, it is the very least of the evils involved. When sectional agitators shall have succeeded in forcing on this issue, can their pretensions fail to be met by counter pretensions? Will not different States be compelled respectively to meet extremes with extremes? And if either extreme carry its point, will it not be a foregone conclusion that the Union? If a new State, formed from the territory of the United States, be absolutely excluded from admission therein, that fact of itself constitutes the disruption of union between it and the other States. But the process of dissolution could not stop there. No war of self-destruction, producing such result by a majority of votes, either Northern or Southern, of necessity drive out the oppressed and aggrieved minority, and place in presence of each other two irreconcilable hostile confederations?

It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offering of that sectional agitation now prevailing in some of the States, which are as impracticable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is mere angry, idle, aimless disturbance of public peace and tranquility. Disunion for what? If the passion of race and fanaticism and partisan spirit did not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe that any considerable portion of the people of this enlightened country could have so surrendered themselves to a fanatical delusion, as to suppose interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abandon and disregard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans—to trample under foot the injunctions of moral and constitutional obligation—and to engage in plans of vindictive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our national institutions.

Nor is it hostility against their fellow-citizens of one section the Union alone. The interests, the honor, the duty, the peace, and the prosperity of the people of all sections are equally involved and imperilled in this question. And are patriotic men so stupid as to be prepared, on such an issue, thus madly to invite all the consequences of the forfeiture of their constitutional engagements? It is impossible. The storm of frenzy and faction must inevitably dash itself in vain against the unshaken rock of the Constitution. I shall never doubt it. I know that the Union is able and willing to stand, and that the provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service as to place that public duty under the safeguard of the General Government, and thus relieve it from obstacles raised up by the legislation of some of the States.

Washington December 31, 1855.

A PLANTER RAISING THE WIND.—Who will buy good field hands and smart servants at a fair price, and at the same time thereby aid Southern emigration to Kansas, without its costing him anything?

A friend of ours, whom we endorse as able and determined to do what he proposes, instructs us to announce that, for the purpose of raising funds to carry to Kansas two or three hundred emigrants, he is desirous of having a new and fresh lot of COBBERGS, all colors and at prices from 25 to 62 cents, per yard; also, a New Stock of

By the last of the week we will be in receipt of a Fresh Case of EIGHT CENT CALICOES, which are as desirable for COMFORTS, DRESSES, CHILDREN'S WEAR, &c. &c.

News of the Week.

The Ohio Legislature meets on Monday next. Its members have a good opportunity to aid the cause of liberty.

The following resolution was adopted in the Texas Legislature on the 26th ult., by a vote of 73 to 3:

"Be it Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That the Legislature approve the course of Thomas J. Rusk, in voting for the Kansas-Nebraska act, and disapprove the course of Sam Houston in voting against it."

The Lutheran Almanac for 1856, makes it appear that there are in the United States 1,000 Lutheran ministers, 1,900 congregations, and 250,000 communicants.

Look-out for a rise in logwood. Scarcely one gallon of wine has been made in Portugal this year, so complete was the failure of the grape crop. None the less "port wine," however, will be sold.

A resolution has passed both branches of the General Assembly of Florida, authorizing the inhabitants of West Florida to vote upon the proposition of seceding from the State and uniting themselves with the State of Alabama.

The English Parliament opens on the 31st of January.

During the month of November 670,000 half dollars were coined at the New Orleans Branch Mint. No other coins were stamped during the month.

Van Dieman's Land exists no longer, the Queen having acceded to a petition from the colony, praying that the name of Van Dieman's Land should be changed to "Tasmania."

The Richmond Enquirer exultingly, heralds the re-election of Mr. Mason to the Senate, with the caption, "The Fugitive Slave Law fully endorsed by the Old Commonwealth."

The great railroad bridge across the Mississippi, at Rock Island, was carried away a few days since by the ice, on the rapids, breaking up.

Travelling on the Sabbath, in the Sandwich Islands—except in the direction of a church—is strictly forbidden by law.

A few days ago an old man was robbed on the steamer Empress, plying on the Mississippi river. The guilty parties were soon after arrested, and tried on the Judge Lynch code, with a display of much forensic eloquence, and the sentence of the jury was faithfully executed—one person receiving 100 lashes; another 50. They were then set ashore.

According to the official abstract, 4010 deaths by consumption occurred in Massachusetts during the year 1854, of whom 1903 were males and 3707 females—a preponderance on the part of the latter of 794.

Receipts for the Bugle for the week ending Jan. 2.

George Fussett, Cedar Rapids, \$1.00 568
H. Rathburn, " 1.00 568
John Smith, Salem, " 50 545
Ernest Case, Rostown, " 1.50 604
Thomas C. Heighon, Edinburg, " 1.00 587
M. Townsend, Neptune, " 2.00 537
S. B. Burdfield, Centre, " 2.00 537
Dr. H. A. Ensign, " 75 559
S. Fox, Morenci, " 1.50 585
Joseph Overholt, Columbiana, " 1.00 587
Anson Hall, Burdysburg, " 2.62 532
James Kennedy, Clark's Corners, " 1.00 569
Arvine C. Quier, Butlerville, " 2.50 560
Andrew Henson, Sligo, " 2.40 529
Amanda Cook, Defreze, " 1.50 549
Alfred Aspinwall, Kaukanau, " 1.50 559
Soloman Armstrong, Jonesville, " 1.00 524
Lucy Ann Rankin, Addison, " 1.50 559
Edward Coffin, New Lyme, " 2.00 545
Crane & Chatfield, Sharon, " 2.00 545

THE CAMPAIGN IN MICHIGAN.

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions and Meetings, under the auspices of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, to be addressed by AARON M. POWELL, J. H. PHILLIPS, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and Mrs. MARY A. PHILLIPS, Agent of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, will be held as follows:

It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offering of that sectional agitation now prevailing in some of the States, which are as impracticable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is mere angry, idle, aimless disturbance of public peace and tranquility. Disunion for what? If the passion of race and fanaticism and partisan spirit did not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe that any considerable portion of the people of this enlightened country could have so surrendered themselves to a fanatical delusion, as to suppose interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abandon and disregard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans—to trample under foot the injunctions of moral and constitutional obligation—and to engage in plans of vindictive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our national institutions.

Nor is it hostility against their fellow-citizens of one section the Union alone. The interests, the honor, the duty, the peace, and the prosperity of the people of all sections are equally involved and imperilled in this question. And are patriotic men so stupid as to be prepared, on such an issue, thus madly to invite all the consequences of the forfeiture of their constitutional engagements? It is impossible. The storm of frenzy and faction must inevitably dash itself in vain against the unshaken rock of the Constitution. I shall never doubt it. I know that the Union is able and willing to stand, and that the provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service as to place that public duty under the safeguard of the General Government, and thus relieve it from obstacles raised up by the legislation of some of the States.

Washington December 31, 1855.

NEW FAMILY

TEA, GROCERY AND PROVISION STORE.

J. DEMING & CO.,

Nearly opposite the Post Office, Main-St., Salem.

WOULD respectfully inform the inhabitants of this place and its vicinity, that they have but recently returned from the Eastern Cities, with a large and well selected Stock of

Groceries, Teas, &c., &c.

Among which may be enumerated, the following articles, which they will sell at the very lowest living profits:

TEAS—Six half chests good Young Hyson, 75 cts. per pound; Four half chests Extra do do 75 to 85 cts. per pound; Four half chests Pouchong, 44 cts. per pound; Two half chests, extra fine Oolong, 85 cts. per pound; Four half chests fine Oolong, 62 cts. per pound.

COFFEES—By the bag or single Pound. Fourteen bags Rio, four bags old Java.

CHOCOLATE—Best Spiced Chocolate; common do.

SUGARS—Splendid article New Orleans Sugar at 8 cts.; Lowville's Pulverized Sugar, 7 cts.; Crushed Sugar, 6 cts.; Coffee Sugar, 7 cts.

MOLASSES—New Orleans Molasses, 44 cts.; Best Honey Syrup, 75 cts. per gallon.

CANDLES—Common Mould Candles, Best Mould Candles, Seaming do, Six Candles.

CRACKERS—Sugar, Soda, Butter and Water Crackers, at manufacturers' prices, by the barrel or pound.

FISH—No. 1, Mackerel, Superior Article of Shad, Haddock, Superior Cod Fish, Herring by the Box.

FOREIGN FRUITS AND NUTS—Malaga, Sultan and Syria Raisins, 25 Druas, Smyrna Figs, Sicily Lemons, Sicily Almonds, Cream Nuts, Filberts, Ground Nuts.

SOAP—Common Rosin, Palm, Erasive, Patent, Fancy and Toilet Soaps.

SPICES—Pepper, Allspice, Ginger, Cloves, Mace, Cinnamon, Ground and whole Nutmeg.

All Spices Ground by the subscriber and Warranted Pure.

TOBACCO AND SEGARS—Cavendish Tobacco, Strauberry's Tobacco, Grant's Best Tobacco, Common Smoking and Mrs. Miller's Fine Cut Tobacco, 5000 Cheroots, 10,000 Washington, 1000 Richmonds, 1000 Braders and Half Spanish Segars.

SUNDRIES—Best Rice, Baking and Washing Soda, Saltpetre, Rope and Twine, Nails, Assorted Sizes, Two and Three Bushel Grain Bags, Common and Fancy Candles, Winter Strained Lard Oil, Patent Buckets, Metal and Cloth Baskets, Canteen, Wicks, Brooms, Pure Olive Oil, Superior Sugar Blacking, Indigo, Mustard, Cream Tartar, and Pepper Sauce.

All of the above articles will be sold at Pittsburgh prices.

Country Produce taken in exchange at the highest cash prices.

J. Deming & Co. will also endeavor to keep on hand a constant supply of Wheat, Rye, and Buckwheat Flour; also, Corn Meal.

Wanted: 300 Bushels White Beans, and Dried Fruit.

J. DEMING & CO.

December 15, 1855.

WALL PAPER.

ALL who are in want of WALL PAPER can have forty varieties to choose from by calling at McMillan's Book-Store, Salem, Ohio.

Also, all kinds of Miscellaneous and School Books, Blank Books and Stationery of every description, Wholesale and Retail.

The attention of writing teachers and others who desire superior articles of Stationery, is particularly invited.

CASH paid for any amount of clean linen and cotton Rags.

J. McMillan.

Salem, April 14, 1855.

J. C. & W. SAVERY,

Wholesale Druggists & Manufacturing Chemists,

No. 311, Market Street, above Eighth.

PHILADELPHIA.

Offer for the attention of Country Dealers, a general assortment of DRUGS, MEDICINES, CHEMICALS, PAINTS, OILS, GLASS, VARNISHES, &c., &c.

August 5, 1854-5m.

SALEM UNION SCHOOL.

THE Salem Union School, will commence its Winter Session, on Monday the 12th of November, under the supervision of Mr. REUBEN McMILLAN, assisted by a competent corps of Teachers.

